2: Stirling--51 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 648

"The Jivaros usually attempt to maintain a spy system in all of the groups with which they have contact. Spying is a dangerous mission as it is common knowledge among the tribes that the others, as well as themselves, maintain a system of espionage. When a spy learns something which he thinks his group should know, under the pretense of going hunting, he notifies his friends. Cases have been known when a Jivaro has betrayed his own group in return for a girl or a gun."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsentsa feasts. The dream tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The dream disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never manifest again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jivaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsentsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[9] The Jivaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the returning war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsentsa as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsentsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsentsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsentsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your home.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> Go return.

The tsentsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker ritually requests the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsentsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam

/326 cont./

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• 648 As in all parts of South America conquered by the Spaniards, the Indians here, too, were forced into slave labor; the exploitation of the gold mines was carried out in a ruthless manner. But the independent forest dwellers did not suffer such oppression with the same patience as the Indians of the high country. A rebellion broke out in 1599, which ended in the destruction of the whole province and even tore the neighboring regions far to the north and south away from Spanish dominion. All the Jívaros joined together for common action under Quiruba, one of their leaders, and the Mácas and Huamboyas were also induced to participate. At the same time the three above-mentioned cities were to be destroyed. Quiruba made a surprise attack on Logroño, destroyed the city, killed all the men falling into his hands, only a few of whom escaped, and made captives of the women and girls, 6,000 in number. Sevilla del Oro and Mendoza escaped the same fate only because of the hesitancy of the neighboring Mácas and Huamboyas. Quiruba himself hurried forth to attack. But the news of his victory had already reached the two cities. The inhabitants of Logroño fled and the abandoned city was left to be destroyed. The battle raged around Mácas. Although the Jívaros were not completely successful in destroying the place and had to yield to the approaching reinforcements, their rebellion had spread such terror that the surviving inhabitants retreated to the highlands, and thereafter, in place of the wealthy Sevilla del Oro, only the tiny spot Mácas could be maintained.

Since all attempts to win back the lost territories by force of arms were unsuccessful, there was recourse to the cross in order to bend the Indians again under the yoke of slavery by this apparently gentle means. The missionaries were successful among some tribes, but the Jívaros turned away all intruders and have maintained their freedom up to our time. Only the small mission of Mácas, inhabited by the Quichua Indians, is located in their territory, and neither the secular clergy nor the Jesuit fathers, who have alternately tried their luck there, have been successful in making converts.

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/332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
[237] shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
[834] men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-
[144] tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy, in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at [231] the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in connection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- • 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [175] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately 48 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

/336 cont./ Mostly

133 of water, created by the melting of glaciers after the outbreak of
[731] a new stream of lava, have reached the low country of Macas and caused terrible destruction. These districts are also not in-
[823] frequently plagued by earthquakes. Thus the Indian knows from his own experience the far-reaching, fearful power of the volcano, which he venerates with only shy reverence from a distance.

I should like to remark here that it is not, as is sometimes maintained, the inner heat of the Sangay or the bottomless masses of ashes which prevent climbing. On the contrary, the essential and sole difficulty lies in the magnificent glaciation of the steep cone, which extends down to 4,300 meters above sea level.

197 The language of the Jivaros is essentially different from Quechua, so that the Indians of Riobamba could not make themselves understood. It sounds beautiful and has a certain masculine
302 seriousness. For counting, the five fingers of the hand are used as a base, then one hand + 1, etc. To what extent higher number concepts are present I could not find out through my untrained interpreters.

177 I should like to be permitted to add in conclusion a few
• 648 words about the future of these Indians and the possibility of making our culture accessible to them -- Civilizatory attempts were never undertaken by the Spanish or Hispano-American parties; in all attempts of this type it was always only a matter of the subjugation and exploitation of the Indians. The Jivaros understand this well and therefore resist any intrusion in their
••• territory. The Ecuadorians can /337/ accomplish nothing by force. If the Indians are left to themselves, however, they will, as I have shown in the description of the warfare, gradually destroy themselves. After what I have seen among the Jivaros, it does not seem at all too difficult to me to fit this people into our cultural development. Intelligent, ambitious, vain, and endowed with a sense for clean, orderly housekeeping, it would be easy to increase their needs by the gradual introduction of European industrial products, to evoke the desire to acquire

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INTRODUCTION

Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to reconquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the *untouchables* of eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained unconquered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro "shrunken head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the markets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and unwilling to be subservient to authority, even among themselves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when I went to study their way of life in 1956–57 and I was most fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style. This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

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Chapter 1

THE JÍVARO: BACKGROUND

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I say truly to Your Highnesses that these people are the most insolent that I have seen in all the time that I have traveled in the Indies and engaged in their conquest.

Captain Hernando de Benavente —on the Jívaro in a letter to the Royal Audiencia of Spain, March 25, 1550[1]

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Where the westward-drifting cloud cover of the upper Amazon basin collides with the eastern cordillera of the Ecuadorian Andes, cold rivulets cascade into the misty forests to form swift, growing streams descending towards the Atlantic Ocean, a continent away. Where the mountain waterfalls give way to rapids, the country of the *untsuri šuarā*, the Jívaro, begins; and where the rapids finally end in placid meandering rivers, so does their homeland. Downstream from the rapids live their traditional enemies, the *aċuarā šuarā* and the *tsunnu šuarā*, Indians who travel more by canoe than on foot. But the rapids are more than a geophysical feature; they are a protective barrier that has long halted exploitative penetration of the Jívaro country from the navigable river systems of the rest of the Amazon basin to the east. And the escarpment of the Andes, to their west, which is the most abrupt in all the length of South America, has similarly been an old and silent ally in inhibiting successful
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conquest and colonization from the highlands. This then, is the home of the Jívaro, a wet, mountainous, and heavily forested sanctuary which helped preserve the freedom and

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MAP 2

Distribution of the Jívaro, or *untsuri huará*, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

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131 (approximately 400 meters altitude) in the east. Map 1 shows
133 most of the region except for the southern extension along
[161] and beyond the Río Zamora. The tribal territory north of the Río Santiago is bisected by the rugged, jungle-clad Cordillera de Cutucú, which runs roughly north and south and reaches an altitude of more than 2,000 meters above sea level.
101 There are settlements of Ecuadorian colonists in the Jívaro
[563] territory west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the Upano and Paute valleys and also southwest of the cordillera in the Zamora Valley, but the mountain range has acted as an effective barrier to white settlement in the lands inhabited by the eastern part of the tribe.

Most of the Jívaro dwelling west of the Cordillera de Cutucú and south of the Río Chiguaza region are in continuous first-hand contact with the frontier of Ecuadorian settlement and are here called the "frontier Jívaro."[11] Those beyond the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization—the object of this study—are mainly east of the Cutucú range and are sometimes referred to here as the "interior Jívaro," since the region is locally known, in Spanish, as "*adentro*."

The northern neighbors of the Jívaro are the Canelos (also locally known as the "Alama," "Quichua" [Quechua] or "Yumbo"), who speak a dialect of Inca. To the east dwell the Achuara Jívaroans, and to the south along the Río Santiago and Río Morona, the Huambisa Jívaroans.[12] Thus the Jívaro are bounded on the west by an Ecuadorian white or mestizo population, and on the other three sides by native tribes.

Jívaro-White Contacts

195 Prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Jívaro were bounded on
• 648 the west by the Inca Empire, which had conquered all the

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highland Ecuadorian groups, such as the Cañari, adjacent to the Jívaro region. Shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards on the Ecuadorian coast in 1527, the Inca emperor, Huayna Capac, led an army to conquer the Jívaroans (probably Jívaro or Aguaruna) inhabiting the region known as "Bracamoros." The invasion, which probably took place in the drainages of the upper Zamora and Chinchipe rivers, was met by such fierce resistance that Huayna Capac had to flee ignominiously back to the Andean highlands, attempting to placate his pursuers with gifts as he retreated. According to one account, he claimed that he would avenge himself on them. According to another version, he explained away his failure by declaring that the inhabitants of Bracamoros were unworthy of being his subjects.[13]

The first reported white penetration of Jívaro territory was made in 1549 by a Spanish expedition commanded by Hernando de Benavente. Probably descending the eastern slopes of the Andes from the headwaters of the Río Upano, Benavente and his men appear to have followed this river southward to its junction with the Río Paute. There they encountered a people living in the "land and province of Xivaro," dwelling in houses scattered more than a league apart. Benavente had planned to establish a town there, but found the Jívaro too hostile and their environment too disagreeable to establish a settlement. He shortly beat a retreat back to the Ecuadorian highlands.[14]

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The Viceroy of Peru soon sent a new expedition of colonists, as well as soldiers, into the Jívaro territory. These newcomers engaged in trade with the Indians,[15] made peace pacts with them, and began to exploit the rich placer gold deposits of the Paute, Zamora and Upano rivers and their tributaries. Experiencing great success in their gold mining activities, the Spaniards founded two major communities, de-

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scribed as "cities," in 1551: Logroño, possibly at the junction of the Río Paute (and Río Upano) with the Río Zamora, and Sevilla del Oro, probably somewhere on the middle Río Upano.[10]

Although the Spaniards were evidently able to obtain the co-operation of some Jívaro in working the placer deposits, others were hostile. Juan Aldrete reported in 1582:

> They [the Jívaro] are a very warlike people, and have killed a great number of Spaniards, and are killing them every day. It is a very rough land, having many rivers and canyons, all of which in general have gold and in such quantity that the Spaniards are obliged to forget the danger and try to subject them for the profits which they can obtain and which the land promises.[11]

As the Spaniards subjected the Jívaro, they required tribute in gold dust, and increased their demands as the years progressed.[12] Finally, in 1599, the Spaniards' demands culminated in the famous Jívaro uprising described by Velasco:

> The cause of this tragedy is attributed above all else to the excessive greed of the last Governor of Macas, and the opportune occasion for carrying it out was the celebrations of the coronation of Philip III of Spain. In order to understand such a memorable event, one first has to presuppose several points:
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> (1) That the Indian nations of this [regional] government for the most part still remained, even if not completely, idolatrous and heathenish, because there were here so few men of the Church, laymen as well as priests, who had hardly begun to develop something more than a parish of Indians.
>
> (2) That the Jíbaro nation, very widely spread through many regions, was not conquered . . . except only in part, the main body of the nation remaining without knife or yoke, scattered in the immense regions of the Morona and its tributary rivers and lakes.

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(3) That the conquered inhabitants of the Paute, where the city of Logroño was founded, remained very displeased with the unequal administration of its taxes, done because of their old rebelliousness.

(4) That even though they were paid for their labor, in iron tools and other goods, in accordance with the ordinances of President LaGasca, that immediate inducement did not offset their innate idleness, and they worked the gold mines with much reluctance.

Given these points, it is easy to understand with how much activity the uprising would be prepared. Above all, it is necessary to understand that the Jíbaros of the Morona, who were the leaders, had renewed their friendship and alliance with those of the Paute, in the interest of having, through them, the iron tools that they needed.

With the matters of government in these critical circumstances, there arrived orders from the royal Audiencia that there, as everywhere, they conduct the customary ceremony of the oath of allegiance to the King. The Governor, who did not miss an opportunity to enrich himself, wanted to take advantage of this. He proclaimed an edict in the capital, and had it announced in all the [regional] government through his lieutenants, fixing the day well in advance, and imposing a large tax, under the name of a gift, for the solemn royal celebrations, he being the one having to go out to collect it in person in the three provinces, equally from the Spaniards as from the Indians.

As soon as this order was proclaimed, rebellion was also proclaimed in all the [regional] governments, with the greater activity among the Spaniards than among the Indians. Since they [the Spaniards] knew the purpose of asking such a big gift, they resolved to pay the cost of the celebrations themselves, although it might cost more, in order not to enrich the Governor by putting it into his hands. They spoke openly and resolutely about the case, and afraid of not being heard, they elected in their meetings several leaders of a formal and declared conspiracy

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against the injustice of the order. The Governor, fearing its effects, since all the Spaniards were stirred up, explained to them, by himself privately, that the gift was free and voluntary, and that each should only contribute according to his means. But he did not explain nor intimate this to the Indians; as a result, while the Spaniards had calmed down, the Indians remained upset.

The Macas and Huamboyas submitted to the order with resignation. The Jíbaros entered into many consultations, and already were resolved to throw off the yoke, retreating to the Morona. Seeing them with this determination, Quirruba [*Kirupasa?* ("Big Frog")], chief of one of their settlements, very alert and capable, quieted them all down. He told them that that was not the sure way of liberating themselves permanently from the Christians: that if they were attempting to do that, they must entrust themselves to his direction, and must bind themselves to execute in secret all that which he would order, and not to think, for then, of making a withdrawal.

They accepted his proposition and swore to recognize him as their leader and liberator. He imposed two obligations upon them: first, inviolate secrecy on which everything depended; and second, that they seek not only the gold that the Governor ordered, but whatever more they were able to, in order that this might be the price of their liberty, feigning to seek gold with great enthusiasm to solemnize the royal celebrations.

Meanwhile, Quirruba asked, through messengers, for aid from all of the Jíbaros of the Morona; and having it assured, he insisted on involving the Macas and Huamboyas in the same conspiracy by means of secret emissaries, because his plan was to wipe out all the Spaniards of the [regional] government at the same time on the same day. He learned the day which the Governor had fixed for his arrival in Logroño, where Quirruba himself was to go personally with part of the army.

He designated two others in whom he had confidence as leaders of the undertaking: one for the capital of Sevilla del Oro, and the other for the town of Huamboya, in order that each one, aided by the local Indians and by the troops of Jíbaros that were

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175 distributed in those parts, that all might become blood and fire.
• 648 The fear of being destroyed by the Jíbaros caused the two faint-hearted nations of Macas and Huamboyas to agree to the resolved plan, but only in appearance, and without intention to co-operate in the massacre, except to keep the secret and to put all of themselves out of danger.

175 The fatal day came with the arrival of the Governor at
648 Logroño, without any aspect of the conspiracy having leaked out
726 up to then. The Spaniards slept quite without worry in the unfortunate city when it was taken cautiously, at midnight, by the enemy army. This exceeded 20,000 Indians, according to recorded report, outside of the troops who had already marched to Sevilla and to Huamboya. Surrounding the city, they invaded and occupied all of its sections simultaneously, so that the Spaniards would not be able to unite, and they were forced to die in their own homes.

175 The principal chief, Quirruba, who had carried out all of the
648 preparations with great cunning, took possession of the house in
727 which the Governor was staying. Surrounding the house, Quirruba entered it with sufficient troops, carrying all the gold that his nation had amassed for the celebrations, and at the same time the implements for melting it. They killed all the people who were inside, except for the Governor, who was in a state of undress because of the surprise. They told him that it was now time for him to receive the tax of gold which he had ordered prepared.

They stripped him completely naked, tied his hands and feet; and while some amused themselves with him, delivering a thousand castigations and jests, the others set up a large forge in the courtyard, where they melted the gold. When it was ready in the crucibles, they opened his mouth with a bone, saying that they wanted to see if for once he had enough gold. They poured it little by little, and then forced it down with another bone, and burning his bowels with the torture, all raised a clamor and laughter.

With the completion of this horrible sacrifice around dawn,

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all of the city was also finished, without scarcely a single man escaping. The encirclement was maintained until the next day, when they extinguished the torches of copal that had burned in all the streets and houses. While they searched for those in hiding, and looted all that they were able to carry, they sent part of the army to the other two cities, in case more help was needed.

Of all the females they had spared, they killed the old and the very young who could only be a burden, and saved the rest for their use. Among this number were almost all of the nuns of a monastery of the Conception founded a few years earlier, because except for the old women who founded it, the rest were young. Before midday they received the news that nothing had been carried out against the capital, because of the failure of the Macas to keep their word. Therefore, they sent three troops, leaving in Logroño those necessary to guard the females and the booty, and to complete the ruin by burning the houses one by one.

In the capital of Sevilla del Oro, 25 leagues distant, neither was the conspiracy discovered until the morning of the same fatal day. The Macas, being cowards, or rather being loyal to the Spaniards, did not resolve to co-operate, but neither did they have the courage to reveal the secret in time, out of fear of their mortal enemies. Those who were somewhat distant from the capital retired to the forests before the appointed day, and some of those closest to the capital fled into the city with their families, food and belongings, saying that they had learned that the Jíbaros of the Morona were going to destroy the cities and settlements of the government that night, because of that it was necessary for the Spaniards to be called to arms and to prepare a defense.

The number of inhabitants of the capital was great, but the major part useless in the situation, and could only serve as a hindrance. They had many weapons put away since the Conquest, but without maintenance and with very little gunpowder: the cavalry was almost nonexistent, because it was useless in the country: the consternation was excessive, because each one was

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thinking more of saving his family and possessions than of the common defense, it was difficult to conduct it to advantage: nevertheless, the city and royal officials tried hard to make as much preparation as was possible, intrenching the streets, and placing those under arms in the locations of the most danger, not having forces or preparation for a battle outside the city.

The officials transported all of the royal treasury and its boxes to the main church, fortifying it as a citadel and final refuge. They also fortified the church of the nuns of the Conception, crowding into it all of the women and children. At nightfall, a portion of the inhabitants of the town of Huamboya, 16 leagues distant, entered the city, having seen all of the rest in Riobamba and its environs. All of these fled, abandoning their houses and goods, because at dawn that day they learned, from a lone sick Indian who had remained, that all the people of his nation had retreated to the Cordillera de Cubillín, fleeing the Jíbaros, who were going to destroy everyone that night.

They rejoiced in Sevilla del Oro with the recruitment of these people, and passed all the night on watch, awaiting the enemy. Seeing that they neither appeared the next day, they began to doubt the existence of the conspiracy. They thus won time to complete the defense somewhat more, to bring in a supply of food from the neighboring countryside, and to gather the Spaniards sprinkled in the mining camps and small settlements of the district.

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The reason that the barbarians postponed the appointed time by 24 hours was because the Macas, who were summoned to join with them and to lead them, as guides, to the city, did not appear at their appointed meeting place. Finding the Macas to be unfaithful, they delayed the march, and sent word to Logroño to supply more troops. These arrived between midnight and dawn the next day, and together they marched against Sevilla del Oro, burning with desire to avenge themselves, not so much against the Spaniards, as against the Macas Indians, for having broken their promise.

The Spaniards worked themselves up into going forth onto the

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115 adjacent plain to see if they could stop the invasion of the city,
• 648 which the barbarians surrounded at daybreak, as conquerors and
926 proclaiming a victory ahead of time. They were received with a volley that made them halt their advance. The initial impetus was checked for a while because of the many dead; later, observing that the shots of the guns, the only weapons they feared, were continually becoming less frequent, and knowing that the Spaniards were short on powder, they made bold so that, wielding their lances, they compelled the Spaniards to retreat to the trenches of the city.

[114] The Jíbaros did not fear the swords, pikes, or lances, protected by a kind of buckler and very strong round shields. All day they made so many assaults of such a furious nature that, fighting hand to hand, they succeeded in piercing the trenches and in taking possession of almost all of the city. The confusion and massacre of thousands grew here and there in various small battles in the streets and plazas, until with the arrival of night the barbarians were satisfied to set fire to many portions of the city, and to make their withdrawal.

115 One Jíbaro, unable to follow the rest because he had lost both
648 legs, was found among the dead. This was the only person through whom it was known afterward that which has been recounted with regard to the conspiracy and tragedy of Logroño: because he was one of those being from that same city, who helped in the sacrifice of the unfortunate Governor. It was not known then or later what the Jíbaros did in the town of Mendoza, nor finding in it either Spaniards or Indians.

115 Neither could it be known with certainty the number of dead
648 in the two cities. It appears by the minimum calculation that in
727 Logroño they did not exceed more than 12 thousand inhabitants of all kinds and ages, because it was a medium-sized city; but of all of them none was spared except the serviceable women, who would have preferred to have died than to be carried off as captives by the barbarians. Of the capital of Sevilla del Oro, which is on record as having been large and populous, with

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more than 25 thousand inhabitants, between citizens and merchants from the outside, it is said that not a fourth remained, this being almost all women and children, with very few men.

Upon the pitiful fall of this government [of Macas], the total ruin of the territory of Yaguarzongo followed as a consequence, and the almost total ruin of Jaén, of which I shall tell you in due time; and that of Loja and Quijos, which I have already reported. Even the highest and most secure provinces of the Kingdom [of Quito] experienced notable unrest on the part of the peoples upon notification of the horrendous catastrophe: it reached even to the barbaric nations of Popayan, and caused them, by its bad example, to commit the insolences and destructions to which I referred in speaking of its cities.

It was a special providence of Heaven that at nightfall the triumphant barbarians unexpectedly withdrew from Sevilla del Oro, the reason being unknown, they being able to have easily consummated the slaughter of everyone. The wretched remnant, informed of all that had happened in Logroño, remained fearing the return of the barbarians at any moment; and no longer capable of resistance, they only thought of saving themselves. Small parties of children and women, with an occasional man, were leaving on foot with a thousand hardships, and without any food, to take refuge in other cities of the Kingdom; and not a single person would have stayed, if an opportune relief had not shortly arrived from Quito.[19]

Those Spaniards who stayed retreated north to the upper Rio Upano Valley and founded the refugee settlement of Macas. Some years later these people of Macas (commonly referred to as Macabeos) made sorties southward to mine the old placer gold deposits, but apparently these attempts ended in failure, due to attacks by the Jívaro.[20]

From 1599 until almost the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jívaro apparently had only intermittent and generally hostile contacts with whites. Some missionary and military

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expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no memory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

> A very long time ago there were the *ai apach* ["a" white men]. They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but were something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *mula* . . . they rode on top of them. I think these must have been horses. The *huard* were scared of them. These whites also had *mesa*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the knees and elbows of the *ai apach* was something like the shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

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196 possibility that they were Macabeos, since the latter "did not have shoes." The *mate* whom the informant thought must be human are clearly *he-mates* (Spanish: *macho*). The *mue* for which he could not suggest an identity undoubtedly are *she-mates* (Spanish: *mula*), since the Jívaro have difficulty pronouncing *l*. In view of the fact that "many, many" whites are referred to, including women and children, this account may actually concern the sixteenth-century occupation by the Spaniards. It is remarkable, however, that the informant had no information as to whether the Jívaro fought the *si apa'i*, although he thought it was possible.

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• 648 From 1599 to 1670, Macas remained the only permanent white settlement near the Jívaro. This little community was linked to the outside world by means of a single foot trail to the highland city of Riobamba. There is even one Macabeo tradition that for some time after the 1599 uprising the people of Macas "lost" the trail and were completely cut off from the outside world. While the truth of this particular tradition is dubious, it does illustrate the Macabeos' sense of isolation. By the early nineteenth century, however, Macabeo men were regularly using the trail to make the seven-day round trip hike to Riobamba to obtain machetes, axes, cloth, needles, and firearms for their remote community.

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92 The Jívaro apparently launched attacks repeatedly in the seventeenth and eighteenth century from the Río Pastaza region, forcing the Macabeos to relocate their village several times. The people of Macas, unlike the Jívaro, had a few firearms, and this advantage, it is believed by them, contributed importantly to their survival.[20] The Macabeos and Jívaro were still fighting in 1831, but by the mid-nineteenth century peaceful trade relations had been initiated between the two groups.[21]

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173 The Jivaro have an oral tradition regarding the circum-
• 649 stances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:
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[19] In the old days, all the Jivaro [ancient hunt] lived near the Río Pastaza. Then two Jivaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutanangoza, they encountered two Macabeos, who were kilts like the hunt, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jivaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Macabeos asked, "Do you have pigs?" The Jivaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of the Jivaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs to Macas. The two hunt returned downstream and told their people:

[20] [21] [22] "We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

[41] [42] All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

[24] When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

[28] So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites set them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

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machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos returned the visit of the Jivaro.

With this initiation of trade relations between the two groups, Jivaro families soon migrated north from the Río Pastaza Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land between the Río Pastaza and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jivaro products for steel machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jivaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jivaro on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[28] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[29]

Macas remained the only significant source of Western-manufactured goods for the Jivaro until 1870. In that year, the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza, to the south on the Río Zamora.[30] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish) sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jivaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jivaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first

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new permanent white settlement in the Jívaro region since 1599. These mestizos seem to have been tolerated by the Jívaro as a source of Western-manufactured goods, especially machetes and steel lance heads, the latter specially manufactured in the adjacent highland province of Azuay for the Jívaro trade.

In 1887, the Dominican order founded a Catholic mission at Macas, but abandoned it in 1898 without apparently having had much effect on the Jívaro.[28] A Protestant mission of the Gospel Missionary Union was established at Macas in 1902, but it likewise was soon terminated.[29]

The last two decades of the century were also marked by visits to Macas by gatherers of cinchona bark and rubber. These commercial collectors generally employed Macabeos as guides and intermittently bartered guns and other trade goods to the Jívaro in exchange for latex or other natural products. However, the rubber trade existed only in an attenuated form in this remote portion of the Amazon, partly because of the problem of transporting the rubber in the absence of navigable rivers.

Although the Amazon rubber boom soon began to decline, other new inroads into the western Jívaro territory were shortly made by the Catholic Salesians, who founded missions at Méndez, near the juncture of the Río Paute and Río Upano, in 1914, and then at Macas in 1924.[30] Except for these missionaries, however, white colonization of the region was still slight. Even Macas remained so isolated from the outside world that the first horse was not brought into the village until 1928, when a man carried a colt on his back from Riobamba, according to local informants.

In 1932, Macas was described by a visitor as follows:

"Macas stands in the midst of a highly fertile district, and is really a group of small farms supporting about five hundred

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175 people. Its fine cattle are known, by hearsay at least, throughout
• 648 Ecuador, but it is rarely that any are driven up to the markets of the plateau. The long trail to Riobamba, the only route from the village to the plateau, is at all seasons of the year so deep in mud that cattle cannot stand the journey over it. One wonders, indeed, how and why such a settlement as Macas exists. But it must be borne in mind that the inhabitants, as in certain sections of eastern Bolivia, Colombia, and Peru, as well, are of a type of which white men elsewhere can scarcely conceive. They are with few exceptions a people so long reduced, because of their inability to engage in trade of any importance, to a state in which they have no desires that cannot be satisfied by the land on which they live. Shelter and food are their chief wants. The few articles of their monotonous diet are easily grown. Their huts of bamboo slats . . . are easily constructed from material immediately at hand. On their infrequent trips to the plateau, they may carry with them a bit of gold washed from a nearby stream, a little crude alcohol distilled from cane grown on a river playa, a few homemade cigars, a little coffee or cacao, wherewith to purchase a few yards of cheap cloth needed for clothing. Their life is easy, tranquil and even plentiful within their conception of plenty. The region could undoubtedly support many more people in such a state of plenty and tranquility, but such a life could scarcely satisfy the desirable type of colonist, either local or foreign, who breaks old ties and traditions to set out to find a better life in new lands.[21]

Even as the above sketch was being published, however, a new wave of white colonists had begun to enter this western part of the Jívaro territory.[22] Mestizo workers who had accompanied the Salesian missionaries to Méndez were rediscovering the rich placer gold deposits which the Spaniards had mined in the sixteenth century on the lower Río Paute, lower Río Zamora, and lower Río Upano. Ecuadorians from the province of Azuay in the adjoining Andean highlands soon

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came down in large numbers to try their luck at gold mining. Unlike their sixteenth-century predecessors, they did not usually attempt to coerce the Jívaro as conquerors, but came as individual prospector-miners. The fact that the Jívaro were fairly well equipped with firearms by this time,[20] probably contributed to this situation. When conflicts with the Jívaro occurred, they were usually settled, one way or another, directly by the individuals involved.

The gold rush reached its peak in 1937, at which time the boom town of Méndez seems to have approached a population of about three thousand—far above that of Macas. Shortly, however, a decline in mining profits took place, and many of the white prospector-miners returned to the highlands. Others remained to settle permanently in the Upano, Paute, and Zamora valleys.

During these gold rush years, the first horse trail had been built into the Jívaro region, connecting the highland province of Azuay with Méndez, and after the boom was over, the trail was kept open by the Salesian missionaries. Gradually, Azuay mestizos, some of them ex-miners, began to immigrate into the region with their families to raise cattle, which they could then drive out over the trail to the city of Cuenca to obtain cash. The local Jívaro at first generally welcomed the settlers as a new source of factory-manufactured goods, particularly machetes and muzzle-loading shotguns, which they received for clearing the forest to make pastures for the colonists' cattle.

Cattle raising proved successful, and soon more colonists arrived. As their numbers increased and they were augmented by military and police units, their fear of the Jívaro diminished, and they began seizing the Indians' garden clearings for pastures. The Jívaro say that over half of their Upano Valley population also died at this time of epidemics of contagious

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diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation greatly facilitated the seizure of Jivaro gardens by the whites. As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jivaro lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward to the Río Chiguaza region.

Around 1941, Jivaro-white relations became extremely tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian troops attacked a Jivaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown number of Jivaro, including women and children, were reportedly killed. The other Jivaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost all the Jivaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate strategic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Undoubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against the Jivaro did not occur.

A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by missionized Jivaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also subsequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier

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Jívaro reside in such mission-administered lands, since Ecuadorian settlers have taken over almost all of the remainder of the desirable land in the Upano Valley. New white settlements which have sprung up in the Río Upano frontier region include Sucúa (by the Río Tutanangoza), Huambi, Huambisinsi, and Logroño (the latter three between Sucúa and Méndez) (see Map 1). By 1950, the reported white population in the Río Upano frontier region had reached 1,811 persons, as against 2,356 Jívaro in the same valley.[16]

By 1956, the Jívaro west of the Cordillera de Cutucú were largely in direct, continuous contact with the Spanish-speaking Ecuadorian population. In this frontier zone, white soldiers and police had imposed the national laws on the Jívaro. White settlers had seized almost all of the land except that protected by the missionaries, and employed the Jívaro in wage labor. Missionaries, with the backing of law enforcement agencies, were putting the Jívaro children in boarding schools and enculturating them to the new, alien way of life. This direct, unremitted contact was tending to acculturate the frontier Jívaro to the national Ecuadorian way of life and the direction of the trend was towards eventual assimilation.

The Interior Jívaro

In contrast, the Jívaro beyond the frontier of colonization still were not yet in continuous first-hand contact with the white population at the time of the investigator's original fieldwork in 1956–57, and these are the people whose culture will be described here. Their territory, mainly east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, had been rarely, if ever, penetrated by any Spanish expedition or later group of Ecuadorian colonizers. This mountain barrier, which is traversed by an unbu-

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icantly different from the essentially egalitarian one between ordinary *aniigri*.

The essence of the shaman's power, the *tsentsak*, or magical darts, have an almost infinite variety of forms, and are viewed as invisible spirit helpers which normally reside in the shaman's body. To bewitch, the shaman sends one of these invisible darts into the body of his victim. To cure, he calls upon these spirit aides to suck the intruding magical dart out of the patient's body.

The power of the magical darts is believed to vary according to their type and according to the power of the shaman supplying them. The most powerful, and therefore most valued, supernatural darts are considered to be those belonging to the shamans of the Quichua (Quechua)-speaking Canelos tribe, which extends northward from the Jivaro to the headwaters of the Río Napo. The Canelos tribe has long been in contact with missionaries, and Canelos shamans are distinguished by the Jívaro with a separate term, *paṇü*, derived from *banco*, the Spanish word for the "bank" part of a placer-mining apparatus, which retains the gold-bearing gravels. Canelos shamans call themselves "banks" because they are believed to be similar rich repositories, but of magical power instead of mineral wealth.

The Canelos *paṇü* are said to possess "white man's" *tsentsak*, which the Jívaro and Achuara shamans consider superior to their own traditional *šuar*, or Indian, *tsentsak*. By means of "white man's" magical darts, the Canelos shamans are able to perform feats not possible for Jívaro and Achuara shamans. For example, they are the only shamans in the region who are able to become possessed with the souls of the dead and to act as oral mediums. They also, it is believed, can send demons to possess victims and thereby manipulate their behavior. Furthermore, these Canelos sha-

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mans are so powerful that it is assumed that they cannot be killed by ordinary means.

The Jívaro and Achuara believe so strongly in the superiority of the Canelos *pasu* that men wishing to become successful shamans would prefer to obtain their own supernatural darts directly from them. A man cannot expect to become a successful shaman, either in bewitching or curing, unless he has magical darts which exceed in power those of the shamans against whom he is working. Beyond this, he believes that his very survival will depend upon the ability of his own magical darts or spirit helpers to resist the attacks of their counterparts belonging to enemy shamans.

The intensity of feuding within the Jívaro and Achuara tribes makes long-distance travel to obtain *tsentak* too dangerous to be undertaken by most men. Generally, only the most northern of the Jívaro and Achuara shamans succeed in visiting the Canelos *pasu* in order to obtain power. For this reason, the northern Jívaro and Achuara shamans are considered to be more powerful than those to the south.

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Since shamanistic power declines in its strength as it is passed southward from shaman to shaman, a southern member of these two tribes who wishes to acquire superior shamanistic power simply does the best he can—which is to travel as far north as safety permits to obtain his magical darts. This is rarely more than forty to fifty miles. If the pilgrim is relatively fortunate, he may be able to get his power from a shaman who has obtained his darts directly from a Canelos bank. But if he lives farther south, he may find he can only obtain the darts from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a *pasu*! Thus, among the Jívaro and the Achuara, there is a regular traffic of shamans making pilgrimages at least slightly northward from their neighborhoods to secure strong supernatural power.

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every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods.

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and parallel hierarchies culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual.

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable interwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3).

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans constitute a significant proportion of the male population. A few women are shamans, but among the Jivaro this is basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret

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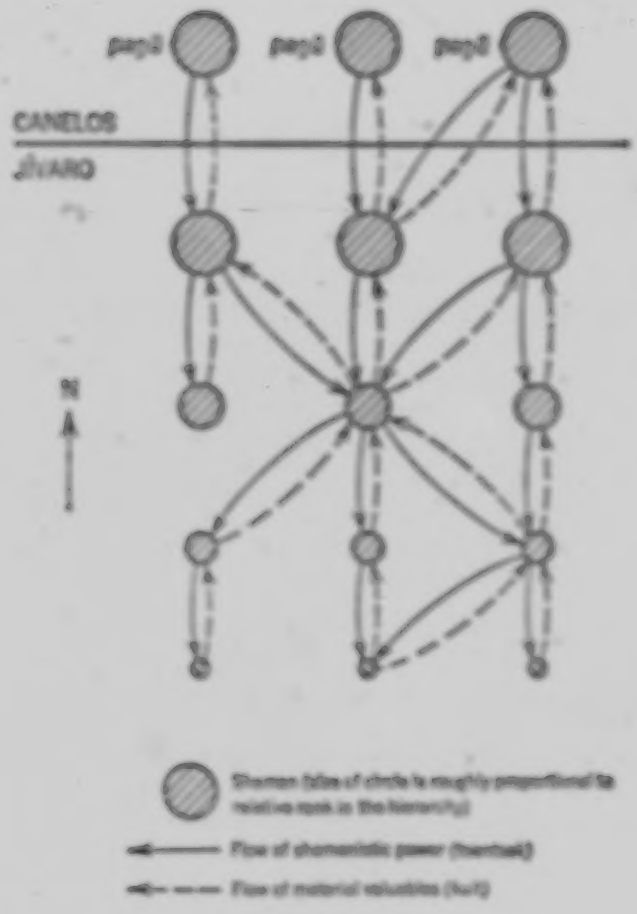

FIGURE 3

Schematic diagram of inter-tribal shamanistic hierarchies

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making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the soul might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the soul will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The tsantsa is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the soul to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the tsantsa over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the soul as well as containing it. As

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Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level.

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jivaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jivaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jivaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *nemtsak* available.

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge.

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc-

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EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *untsuri huará* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jívaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jívaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jívaro schoolteachers have been placed in the most remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization.

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *untsuri huará* territory as far east as the Río Pangui, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Taisha), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt intra-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prison in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jívaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order."

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178 This does not mean that Jívaro killing has been entirely
628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
721 is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and
warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
598 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
• 648 typical of the present situation is that some Jívaro are learn-
183 ing to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines per-
fected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
[764] cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from
natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence
of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted
with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem
that violence has indeed declined substantially among the
Jívaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
648 Jívaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
315 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began heli-
copter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources
in their land. The consequences of these operations for the
eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears
that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice
regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jívaro are
on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by
missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in
mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated
7,830 *untsuri huara* of 1956–57 have now grown to a popula-
tion for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood
of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jívaro have "turned the
corner" demographically, and from what is known of North
American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the
prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

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Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jivaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jivaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jivaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jivaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jivaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jivaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jivaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

J.O. Manner K-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SDP Jivaro SDP

As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed on a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez. This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from the province of Azuay.

Many members of the tribe were convinced that the eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed five Jivaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most slender (mis)information, the Jivaro who accompanied us, together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility and unease which recalls the conditions of the Jivaro revolt of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

An important aspect of the current situation is the difference between the concepts of land utilization held by the Jivaro and the whites. The Jivaro, with a free land tradition, have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land ownership. Besides this, the Jivaro do not have the tradition of solely subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also depend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gathering. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, especially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white standards, although the Jivaro feel that, in fact, their lands are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jivaro

39 Harvar E-4.9 (1956-1960)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This basic cultural difference makes successful communication and adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jívaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaras de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shotes, and governed by Catholicized Jívaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jívaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jívaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*huari*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jíbaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

A serious problem for the Jívaro is that almost their only spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the missionaries, since there has not been a branch of the government concerned specifically with the protection of the rights of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not adequately right the injustices to the Indians (witness the many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-

54:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

182 fairs), but the absence of such a third force to represent ef-
797 fectively the economic interests of the Jivaro within the
• 648 governmental structure places the Indians under serious obligations to the missionaries and often limits their independence of action.

177 Still, the Jivaro have clearly opted for adaptation to a
178 Western life style and seem to have no brief for maintaining
182 traditional features of their native life simply for tradition's sake alone. While they undoubtedly will wish to preserve and even revive certain aspects of their old culture within the context of a desire for an ethnic identity, at this moment in time they seem to be basically focused upon acquiring what they discern as the most positive features of the whites' life. Whether their eventual fate will parallel that of their North American counterparts, who went through similar attempts at adaptation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or whether the twentieth century will be kinder, is a question that remains to be answered.

121 In any case, the culture of the Jivaro as described in this book now largely belongs to history. Personally, I view it as a loss, emotionally and scientifically, and only hope that these meager efforts will help preserve a record of what was once a magnificently distinctive life style.